decisive point in these preparations. The purpose of this Conference is to prepare the charter of an international organization to maintain peace with justice in a free world of free men.

I believe that it was wise, and indeed a necessary decision, to limit the work of this Conference to that great task. It was a wise decision because writing the constitution of a world organization for the maintenance of peace in the future is a task wholly separate from the punishment of the international gangsters who started this war. It was a necessary decision because the establishment of the world organization must be kept above and apart from the peace settlements if the organization is to be able to deal freely and justly with future threats to the peace that may arise from any cause, including these settlements.

The preparation of the charter of the world organization should not, therefore, be entangled with the many and the complex political and economic issues involved in the defeat of Germany and Japan. And the imminent collapse of organized German resistance makes it all the more important that the world organization be established at the earliest possible moment.

To deal with these and other issues there will have to be many other conferences and many other decisions, both national and international. We have no time to lose.

Success at this Conference will not in itself assure enduring peace. The whole structure will take years to build. But without agreement on a charter of world organization, the structure of peace cannot be built at all. A house cannot be built without a plan or without a foundation; and here at San Francisco the United Nations must draw the plan and lay the foundation.

Upon this foundation and in accordance with this plan, the framework of the structure will be erected when the United Nations have ratified the charter by their respective constitutional processes and brought the world organization into being. It is only around this framework that we can complete the structure of peace with all the other agreements on political, economic, and social problems which we must reach together. At this Conference we have therefore undertaken a responsibility on which all else depends. We have undertaken to draw up a charter of an international organization strong enough to prevent war but flexible enough to allow for peaceful development and change.

The outlines of such a charter are contained in the proposals formulated at Dumbarton Oaks last fall by the representatives of the Republic of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

These proposals were formulated after years of preliminary study. They represent in their essentials the highest common denominator of thought among the four sponsoring nations. They are being presented to this Conference as affording the basis of the charter of an international organization.

The proposals were submitted months ago to the most searching examination by the Governments and the peoples of all the United Nations. Since then many constructive suggestions have been made toward their improvement. Some of these suggestions, and others which may emerge from our discussions here, will undoubtedly be reflected in the final draft of the charter, and the charter itself should be open to whatever later amendment experience may dictate as wise.

We must always bear in mind, however, that there are at least two conditions essential to the establishment of a world organization which can successfully maintain peace. One of these conditions is that those peace-loving nations which have the military and the industrial strength required to prevent or suppress aggression must agree and act together against aggression. If they do not agree and act together, aggression cannot be prevented or suppressed without a major war. This fact has certainly been spelled out by our experience in this war. That is why the first step toward the establishment of the world organization was to prepare proposals on which the nations sponsoring this Conference could agree, and this is why in the structure and the powers of the Security Council of the world organization proposed in the Dumbarton Oaks plan, provision was made for this essential agreement and unity of action by the major nations. Without this we cannot hope to build a world organization which will provide security to all nations, large and small. Without this we cannot hope to develop enduring institutions in which all free nations may participate on a basis of sovereign equality and in which justice and respect for law will apply to the powerful as well as to the weak.

The second essential condition of success in our endeavor is the voluntary cooperation of all peaceful nations, large and small, acting with full respect for the equal sovereignty of each to promote justice among nations, to foster respect for basic human rights, and to solve those common problems upon which the security and the economic and the social

advancement of their peoples so largely depends. There can be no end to the tyranny of fear and want unless the proposed world organization commands the allegiance of both the mind and the conscience of mankind.

The International Court, the Assembly, and the Economic and Social Council and its related agencies are the institutions proposed at Dumbarton Oaks which would have the major responsibility in these fields. They are of the utmost importance. Wide-spread economic insecurity and poverty, ignorance and oppression breed conflict and give aggressors their chance.

Measures for security against aggression, no matter how effectively contrived, will not alone provide the assurance of lasting peace. We have also to work effectively in close cooperation together toward rising standards of living and greater freedom and greater opportunity for all peoples of every race and creed and color.

In the preparations for this Conference we have sought from the beginning to build with vision and with justice, but to build always upon the realities and upon hard won experience. To build upon a millenial idealism, however fine in theory, would be to build upon quicksand. To build only on the collaboration and interests of the major nations would be to deny the community of interest of all nations. We have sought instead to insure that the strength of the major nations will be used both justly and effectively for the common welfare--under the law of a world charter in which all peaceful nations are joined together.

We began by seeking a common understanding among the sponsoring nations on basic objectives and on the essential machinery for action. These are the nations which have united their strength against the aggressors so successfully in this war. We proceed now in seeking agreement among all the nations, large and small, which have been united against the common enemy.

This is a conference of the United Nations, the nations that love peace and freedom enough to fight for them. The international organization we seek to build is one that is based upon this inescapable fact of our time, that peace and security will be the right of those nations which are willing to share in the responsibility for keeping them. Tyranny and barbarism have never recognized neutrality and they never will.

We do not intend to build a world organization that will overlook this cardinal fact. We do propose that after it is established the organization be opened to membership of all

other nations which have demonstrated their willingness and their ability to fulfil their obligations under the charter.

I have reviewed briefly the preparations for this Conference and our thinking on some of the major problems that we must here meet together. We cannot expect at this Conference to produce a charter which will answer all the questions and resolve all the problems. No charter and no constitution, no basic document was ever drafted that was not open to improvement.

We Americans have a convincing proof of that in our own history. Our Constitution, under which this Republic has grown and prospered for a hundred and fifty years, was by no means satisfactory to all the citizens when it was issued from the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, or even satisfactory to all the delegates to that Convention. It lacked many provisions which numerous Americans of that day believed to be essential; yet it was adopted by the requisite number of states in 1789. Only four years after the Constitution was written, the first ten amendments went into effect, and eleven other amendments have been made since then. What was true of the thirteen states which joined to form the United States of America is true also of the nations which have met at this Conference to consider the proposed organization of the world for peace and security.

Let us construct a charter of the world organization as soundly as we can, but let us not sacrifice approval to perfection. Let us act now in the sure knowledge that our work can be improved upon with time, but that if we fail to act, we are likely to lose altogether the opportunity which has been given to us to prevent another world war.

Fellow Delegates, as we enter upon our great task we cannot forget the millions of men of our armed forces who have given their lives in this cause, nor the other millions of men, women, and children who have suffered the cruel agonies of starvation, of torture, and of death. We cannot forget the untold destruction that has been wrought, nor can we forget how close our whole civilization has come to utter ruin. It is our supreme responsibility at this Conference, and afterwards, to see to it that this calamity never again falls upon the world.

Vision we must have to see clearly that without peace and security for all nations there will be no peace and security for any one of us. Courage we must have to carry us through trying delays and temporary misunderstandings and lesser differences to the fulfillment of our common purpose. Faith we must have in the ability of mankind to make peace with the same resolute devotion that the United Nations peoples have given to fighting this war.

That vision and that courage and that faith inspired the great American leader whose life was given for the cause for which we have met, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. It is only with such vision and courage and faith, expressed in a thousand different ways, that the United Nations have been able to travel so far along the hard road to final victory. It is only with this vision and this courage and this faith that we shall make peace secure for ourselves and for succeeding generations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now recognize His Excellency, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China and Chairman of the Delegation of the Republic of China, Dr. T. V. Soong.

MR. SOONG: Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates: I wish first of all to speak of China's regard for the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and I do this with deep emotion. To us he was not only the first citizen of the United States but also an inspired leader of the world, passionately devoted to the cause of peace and justice among nations. His vision and faith, his statesmanship and courage have brought the victory of the United Nations within sight. He embodied the ideals and hopes of the peoples everywhere. He was rightly regarded as the leading proponent and architect of a durable system of peace which was to crown our joint efforts in the present struggle. Only a fortnight ago he was still actively guiding the work of preparation for this great Conference. Although he has left us, his work will continue to guide us. In tribute to his memory and in recognition of all that he has done for us, let us concert our efforts and complete that important task ahead in the fullest measure.

China, perhaps more than any other nation, understands the necessity for the success of this Conference; for it is now universally recognized that a second world war had started when the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, thus depriving China of 30,000,000 of her people and of the rich natural resources so essential to her national existence.

Twice in our generation it has been necessary to mobilize the world's resources of men and material to arrest tyranny and preserve freedom. Twice in our generation we have had to learn by bitter experience that in an interdependent world, war cannot be localized or peace isolated. Twice in our generation we have lost lives in tragic numbers and treasure in prodigious volume that could have been saved if peace-loving nations had united when peace was first threatened, instead of waiting until aggression had engulfed half the world in flames.

In the fourteen years of savage warfare since 1931, China has endured every misery that the aggression of a major predatory power can impose. We sought by all means which were then available, in the existing state of international organization, to obtain redress. Inescapably we learned that there was no hope of ultimate safety for any nation without a really effective system of collective security. Therefore, at the very inception of the idea of the United Nations, President Chiang Kai-shek advocated the early setting up of an executive council of the United Nations, since without such an authority a world order cannot function.

Let us face hard facts. A long effort is required of all of us before an effective rule of law is established in world affairs. We in China know it by bitter experience.

by the precepts of their own philosophies, the depth of villainies perpetrated by the exponents of brute force, and they have appreciated fully the majestic surge of the power of freemen joined in comradeship; and they now strive ardently to attain the common goal of human liberty within a commonwealth of free people.

MR. STETTINIUS: The Chair now recognizes His Excellency, Mr. V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(Address by Mr. Molotov in the Russian language.)

MR. STETTINIUS: Mr. Molotov's address will now be translated in English by Mr. Pavlov.

MR' MOLOTOV (through interpreter): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On instructions of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I should like at the very beginning of my speech that I am making on behalf of the Soviet Delegation at this historic Conference, to express my deep gratitude to the Government of the United States of America, and to Secretary of State Mr. Stettinius personally, for the immense amount of work of preparation carried out by them prior to this Conference, and also for the excellent organization of the Conference of the United Nations. At the same time, I should like to seize this opportunity to express on behalf of the Soviet Delegation my most sincere gratitude to Mr. Lapham, Mayor of San Francisco, for the cordial hospitality extended to my Delegation in San Francisco.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Soviet Government attaches a great importance to the international conference in San Francisco.

The end of the war has drawn near, at least in Europe. The rout of Hitler-Germany, the principal aggressor in this war, has become a fact. The time has come to take care of the post-war period of the future. This Conference is called upon to consider the question of setting up an organization to protect the general peace and security of nations after the war. This clearly shows how great is the responsibility resting upon this Conference.

Today as well as on many other occasions, we must remember the great name of President Franklin Roosevelt. His services in this struggle for the achievement of a lasting peace, and in the preparation of this historic Conference,

have met with a wide recognition among all the peace-loving nations. The Second World War by far exceeded the First World War in the magnitude of military operations and the size of the armies involved, and in lives lost, as well as in the unusually severe consequences for the life of many peoples.

Hitler-Germany which started this war did not shrink from any crimes in trying to impose her domination in Europe and to pave the way to the world domination of German imperialism. Mass murders of children, women, and old men, the extermination of nations in their entirety, the wholesale destruction of peaceful citizens who were not to the liking of Fascists, the barbaric destruction of culture and of unruly men, prominent in culture and the destruction of many thousands of towns and villages, the dislocation of economic life of nations, and incalculable losses, all this cannot be forgotten.

In the past German Fascism not only openly prepared its armies and armaments for a piratic attack on peaceful countries, but Hitlerism cynically adjusted the ideology of many millions of people in its country for the purposes of achieving domination of a foreign nation.

This purpose was also served by the illiterate misanthropic theories on the German master race, in whose services foreign nations were supposed to be. Long before the direct attack on its neighbors, Hitlerism openly prepared for a criminal war, which it started at the moment of its own choosing.

As it is well known, Hitlerism found unscrupulous henchmen and sanguinary accomplices. It is also well known that when German Fascism, which had made an easy tour of all Europe, invaded the Soviet Union, it faced an unflinching adversary.

The country of Soviets, which has saved the European civilization in bloody battles with German Fascism, with good reason reminds now the governments of their responsibility for the future of peace-loving nations after the termination of this war. This is all the more necessary to do, that before this war the warning voice of the Soviet Republic was not heard with due attention. This is no time to explain at length why this happened. It cannot be proved that there was no desire to prevent the war. It has been fully proved, however, that the governments which claimed once the leading part in Europe manifested their inability if not reluctance to prevent the war, with the consequences of which it will be not so easy to cope.

The Conference is called upon to lay the foundations for the future security of nations. It is a great problem which it has been, thus far, impossible to solve successfully. Anybody knows that the League of Nations in no way coped with these problems; it betrayed the hopes of those who believed in it.

It is obvious that no one wishes to restore the League of Nations with no rights and powers which did not interfere with any aggressor preparing for war against peace-loving nations, and which sometimes even lulled outright the nations' vigilance with regard to impending aggression. The prestige of the League of Nations was especially undermined whenever unceremonious attempts were made to turn it into a tool of various reactionary forces and privileged powers.

If the sad lessons of the League of Nations have to be mentioned now, it is only in order that past errors may be avoided which must not be committed under the sign of new and profuse promises. It is impossible, however, to count indefinitely on the patience of nations if the governments manifest their inability to set up an international organization protecting the peaceful lives of peoples, their families, their young generations, against the horrors and hardships of new, piratic, imperialist wars.

The Soviet Government are a sincere and a firm champion of the establishment of a strong international organization of security. Whatever may depend upon them and their efforts in their common cause of the creation of such a post-war organization of peace and security of nations will be readily done by the Soviet Government.

We will fully cooperate in the solution of this great problem with all the other governments genuinely devoted to this noble cause. We are confident that this historic aim will be achieved by joint efforts of peace-loving nations in spite of all the obstacles in the way of this achievement.

This work which was carried out at Dumbarton Oaks last year--and which is well known to all of us--is an important contribution to this cause. Representatives of the United States of America, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union, worked out there such principles of the international security organization as will constitute an important basis for the international organization of a new type.

Quite recently, at the suggestion of the late great President Franklin Roosevelt, the Crimean Conference made important supplements to this draft. As a result, this Conference has a sound basis for successful work, naturally, that the new organization of international security will be built upon the foundation laid by the United Nations in this war.

It is well known that in Europe in the straining struggle against the common enemy, a great coalition of democratic powers was formed. The formation of Anglo-Soviet-American coalition insured the rout of German Fascism and its henchmen. The other nations of Europe, led by this coalition, have been fighting

for their liberation. The coalition of great powers, with their inflexible will to defend their national interests and to promote the liberation of all the other nations which fell victim to sanguinary aggression, is consummating the task of defeating the enemy of all the United Nations. This coalition would accomplish it because it was conscious of its historic mission and because it possessed immense manpower and material resources which were invariably used in the interests of the struggle against the enemy.

But we must always bear in mind that prestige acquired is easily wasted. If we forget certain elementary things, such as the lessons of the League of Nations, all the lessons of this war in which the democratic nations rallied against an imperialist power--which considered itself master of Europe and which intended to impose its will--will lie on the whole world. This coalition was forged in the fire of struggle and rendered a great service to the cause of the United Nations. It must be admitted that the presence in this coalition of such a country as the Soviet Union, where relations between great and small nations are based on equality and true democracy, is of extremely great importance.

On the other hand, it is impossible to overrate the active part played in this coalition by the United States of America, which formerly remained aloof from the problems of international organization and which is now devoting to this cause its initiative and enormous international prestige.

This coalition would have been nearly impossible without Great Britain, which holds an important place in the international association of democratic countries. China in Asia and France in Europe are the great nations which strengthened this coalition as a powerful world factor in the post-war period as well.

If the leading democratic countries show their ability to act in harmony in the post-war period as well that will mean that the interests of peace and security of nations have received at last a firm basis and protection. But that is not all. The point at issue is whether other peace-loving nations are willing to rally around these leading powers to create an effective international security organization, and this has to be settled at this Conference in the interests of the future peace and security of nations.

An international organization must be created having certain powers to safeguard the interests of the general peace. This organization must have the necessary means for military protection of the security of nations.

Only if conditions are created such as will guarantee that no violation of the peace or the threat of such a violation shall go unpunished, and the adoption of necessary punitive measures is not too late, will the organization of security be able to discharge its responsibility for the cause of peace. Thus, the point at issue is the creation of an effective organization to protect the general peace and security of nations for which all the sincere partisans of the peaceful development of nations have long, and rightly, but which has always had numerous irreconcilable enemies in the camp of the most aggressive imperialists. After innumerable sacrifices borne in this war and after suffering and hardships experienced in these past years, the urge of nations for the establishment of such an organization is especially strong.

The opponents of the creation of such an international organization have not laid down their arms. They are carrying on their subversive activities even now, though in most cases they are doing it in a latent and veiled form. For these purposes they frequently use ostensibly the most democratic watchwords and arguments, including the professed protection of the interests of small nations or of the principles of the equity and equality of nations. But in the end it is not important what reasons of protection have been used to disrupt the establishment of an effective organization of the security of nations.

If even now no such an effective organization is created to protect the post-war peace, this will be another indication of the inability to cope with these great problems by means of the forces available. But that will not prove that the necessity for such an organization has not yet arisen and that such an organization will not be set up ultimately.

We must not minimize the difficulties involved in the establishment of the international security organization. With our eyes closed we shall not be able to find the road. We must warn of these difficulties in order to overcome them and, avoiding illusions, to find at last a reliable road to march along toward the achievement of the noble objectives.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, I should like to assure the Conference at this time that in our country the whole people are brought up in the spirit of faith and devotion to the cause of setting up a solid organization of international security.

I should like also to assure the Conference that the Soviet people will readily heed the voice, wishes, and suggestions of all the sincere friends of this great cause among the nations of the world.

C'est pourquoi le premier pas vers l'établissement d'une Organisation Mondiale a été de préparer les bases sur lesquelles les Nations à l'invitation desquelles se réunit cette Conférence pourraient s'entendre. C'est aussi pourquoi, dans la structure et dans les pouvoirs du Conseil de Sécurité de l'Organisation Mondiale proposés à Dumbarton Oaks, des mesures ont été prévues pour arriver à ces accords essentiels et à une unité d'action de la part des Grandes Nations. Toute d'entente, nous ne pouvons espérer établir une Organisation Mondiale qui assure la sécurité à toutes les Nations, petites et grandes. Toute d'entente, nous ne pouvons espérer établir des institutions durables auxquelles toutes les Nations pourront librement participer sur un pied d'égalité et dans lesquelles la justice et le respect de la Loi voudront également pour les Puissants comme pour les Faibles.

L'entière condition essentielle dont dépend le succès dans notre entreprise est la coopération volontaire de toutes les nations, petites ou grandes, éprises d'un idéal de paix, agissant avec un respect égal de la souveraineté chacune d'entre elles, pour assurer la Justice parmi les Nations, le respect des Droits de l'Homme, et résoudre les problèmes économiques et sociaux de leurs peuples. Nous ne verrons jamais la fin de la tyrannie qu'exercent la peur et le besoin si l'Organisation Mondiale que nous envisageons n'est pas édifiée tant par l'esprit que par la conscience de toute l'Humanité.

La Cour Internationale de Justice, l'Assemblée, le Conseil Economique et Social et ses organismes connexes, sont les institutions proposées à Dumbarton Oaks auxquelles incombera la principale responsabilité dans ces domaines. Ce sont des institutions de la plus haute importance. Insécurité économique et pauvreté générales, ignorance et oppression, sont la source de conflits et fournissent une excuse aux agresseurs. Toutes mesures de sécurité contre les Agressions ne suffiront pas par elles-mêmes, si effectivement qu'elles aient été conçues, à assurer une paix durable. Nous devons également travailler de façon efficace, en collaboration étroite, afin d'atteindre un idéal d'existence plus élevé, une liberté plus grande et la possibilité pour tous les peuples de se développer, quelles que soient leur race, leurs croyances ou leur couleur.

Dès le début des travaux préparatoires pour cette Conférence, nous nous sommes efforcés, non seulement de faire preuve de clairvoyance et de justice, mais aussi de toujours tenir compte des réalités et d'une expérience péniblement acquises. Construire sur les bases d'un idéalisme millénaire, si beau soit-il en théorie, serait construire sur le

sable. Se baser sur la collaboration et sur les intérêts des nations principales seulement, serait nier l'interdépendance des intérêts de toutes les nations.

Nous avons donc fait tout notre possible pour que les forces des grandes Nations soient mises au service du bien-être de tous, sous l'égide d'une Charte mondiale liant étroitement toutes les nations éprises d'un idéal de paix. Nous avons accepté la tâche en cherchant à établir sur ces buts fondamentaux et sur des moyens d'action essentiels une communauté de vues entre les nations à l'invitation desquelles se tient cette Conférence. De sont ces nations qui ont, au cours de cette guerre, uni leurs forces avec tant de succès contre l'agresseur. Nous continuons résolument, en cherchant à arriver à un accord entre toutes les nations, grandes et petites, qui sont toujours étroitement unies contre l'ennemi commun.

La présente Conférence est une Conférence de Nations Unies--de nations qui n'ont pas hésité à se battre pour une paix et une liberté auxquelles elles tiennent. L'Organisation Internationale que nous cherchons à former est une Organisation basée sur l'indivisible fait des temps qui courent, i.e. que les nations qui sont disposées à supporter leur part de responsabilité pour le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité, aient virtuellement droit à cette paix et à cette sécurité. La tyrannie et le barbarisme n'ont jamais reconnu et ne reconnaîtront jamais la neutralité. Nous prétendons ne former une Organisation mondiale qui réalisera ce point cardinal. Nous suggérons, néanmoins, qu'une fois établie l'Organisation accueille en qualité de membre tout autre nation qui aura prouvé son bonne volonté et sa compétence à remplir ses obligations envers la Charte.

J'ai précédemment examiné les préliminaires de cette Conférence et résumé notre façon de penser en ce qui concerne quelques-uns des principaux problèmes que nous avons ici à résoudre. Nous ne nous engageons pas espérer pouvoir procurer, au cours de cette Conférence, une Charte qui pèsera à toutes les questions de la solutionner. Il n'y eut jamais aucune Charte, aucune Constitution, aucun document fondamental qui, dès avoir été rédigés, ne soient pas devenus sujets à des conflits nationaux.

Nous en avons, nous autres, Américains, une preuve flagrante dans notre propre histoire. Notre Constitution, sous laquelle notre République a grandi et a prospéré pendant 150 ans, était loin d'être satisfaisante à tous les citoyens lorsqu'elle fut promulguée par l'Assemblée Constituante de Philadelphie en 1787— elle n'était même pas

entraînera inévitablement la destruction totale de la civilisation.

On peut donc affirmer sans exagération que le tâche que nous abordons ici représente peut-être l'ultime espoir du monde.

C'est pourquoi les Gouvernements des quatre puissances à l'invitation desquelles se tient cette Conférence ont désiré à leurs représentants de se réunir afin d'élaborer les propositions qui pourraient plus tard servir de base à un accord international.

Et ceci, ils l'ont fait à Dumbarton Oaks.

Leurs travaux ont ensuite été revus et complétés à Yalta.

Vous en avez devant vous le résultat. Et à ce propos, il me semble que quelques remarques générales s'imposent. D'abord, ces propositions représentent évidemment un compromis.

Ensuite, elles ne constituent pas, de la part des quatre puissances en question, une tentative d'imposer aux autres états du monde, la forme sous laquelle devrait s'élaborer la future organisation mondiale.

Elles ne sont que des suggestions que nous vous soumettons en connaissance, pour que vous en preniez connaissance.

Et elles ne sont nullement destinées à rester immuables jusqu'à la fin des siècles.

Pour notre part, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique comme le Royaume Uni est prêt à les accepter, à les sanctionner et à tout faire afin de les mettre en valeur; car nous croyons qu'elles représentent la base d'une future organisation mondiale qui servira à fournir la sécurité qui est aujourd'hui ce dont l'humanité a le plus grand besoin.

Mais la sécurité n'est pas en elle-même le but final.

Elle est important en ineffable à la vraie liberté, si nous devons la rendre possible.

Il n'y a pas d'autre espoir pour nous d'établir un monde où la justice pourra régner pour les nations aussi bien que pour les individus.

Mais il n'est pas possible de créer cette sécurité en un jour, ni au moyen d'un seul document, quelqu'admirable qu'il fut.

Cette sécurité doit être le fruit du temps et d'un effort continu, de notre volonté d'apprendre à travailler ensemble, de mettre en pratique et de maintenir des standards acceptés de conduite internationale.

L'important, c'est de nous y mettre dès maintenant.

Et permettez-moi de prononcer ici un avertissement et, en même temps, de soumettre une suggestion.

N'essayons pas de trop accomplir. Nous ne pouvons guère espérer réaliser dès maintenant un schéma parfait dans tous ses détails les plus minutieux, pour la réglementation du monde à venir.

Je suis convaincu qu'il serait plus sage de choisir un but qui serait bien plus à la portée de nos capacités actuelles.

Et nous aurons accompli le premier pas indispensable si nous pouvons maintenant rédiger une charte qui couvre nos principes.

Les détails de cette charte, nous pouvons les laisser à plus tard, lorsque notre expérience nous permettra de les compléter.

Je sais que tout ceci représente une conception bien Anglo-saxonne que d'autres pourront peut-être qualifier; mais je suis convaincu de sa justesse dans le cas qui nous préoccupe, et je préférerais même qu'il est possible d'en démontrer les mérites en invoquant des faits historiques.

Permettez-moi maintenant de toucher brièvement sur les propositions que nous vous soumettons ici. Elles ont été celles d'Nations à toutes les puissances, qu'elles soient petites ou grandes. Mais je sais qu'elles font incomber une responsabilité toute spéciale aux grandes puissances en cet sens que le potentiel industriel d'un pays est un facteur si décisif dans sa puissance militaire.

Les grandes Puissances peuvent donc contribuer de deux façons.

Elles peuvent d'abord, accorder à cette Organisation tout leur appui.

order may become necessary, not so much for the preservation of peace as for the attainment of international justice.

The Charter could, therefore, properly declare that the organization should exert its powers for the promotion of justice and the rule of law. In the Charter should also be inserted a specific undertaking by all members to refrain in their international relations from force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of another state.

The application of this principle should insure that no question relating to a change of frontiers or an abrogation of a state's independence could be decided other than by peaceful negotiation. It should be made clear that if any state were to follow up a claim to extended frontiers by using force or the threat of force, the claimant would be breaking a specific and solemn obligation under the Charter. In such a case it would surely be impossible for the Council to decide the dispute in favor of the nation that had violated its obligations.

The powers and functions of the General Assembly in regard to the settlement of disputes should be clarified. The General Assembly is to comprise all members. Ultimately it should become the control organ or the forum in which the conscience of the peoples of the world should have its most potent expression.

We admit one exception, and one exception only, to the right of the Assembly to consider and to make recommendations as it thinks fit with regard to any matter affecting international relations. While the Security Council is handling a dispute in accordance with chapter VIII of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, nothing should be done to diminish the authority of the Council or to hamper the prompt settlement of the dispute. We suggest that, on taking over a dispute, the Security Council should give some clear indication as to whether it is actively handling the matter. During the period when the matter is being so handled, the Assembly can fairly be precluded from dealing with the subject on its own initiative. But it is equally essential that the Assembly should be kept notified of the position so that it would be competent to make positive recommendations in relation to the matter, in case the dispute should become frozen in the Security Council. It was in this way that the Chinese-Japanese dispute became frozen during the period when Japan first taught other Fascist aggressors how to wrap their fingers at solemn international obligations.

We must speak plainly about the composition of the Security Council. Its powers in relation to the employment of force by the world organization will be tremendous. As I have said, the great powers are entitled to special position in relation to the application of sanctions. United action is essential to stamp out an aggressor. But the application of the same principle in the case of the selection of the non-permanent members of the Council requires that special attention be paid to the proved willingness and capacity of members to make a substantial contribution to security.

It will have to be recognized that outside the great powers there are certain powers who, by reason of their resources and their geographical location, will have to be relied upon especially for the maintenance of peace and security in various quarters of the world. Like France, Canada, and other countries, Australia has consistently maintained this principle. But there is another principle of even greater importance.

Certain powers, not classified as great, have proved by their record in two world wars that they not only have the capacity but also the will to fight in resistance of aggressors threatening the world with tyranny. Those powers are in a sense proved veterans in the struggle against Fascist dictatorship threatening the security of the world. They are in truth security powers. They have a claim to special recognition in any security organization.

There are various ways in which this special claim might be recognized. One suggestion is that, regional groups of non-permanent members should be drawn up so as to insure that the non-permanent members of the Security Council do, in fact, represent powers whose material resources, geographical location, and willingness to resist aggression make their actual cooperation with the great powers absolutely essential to the effective working of a security system.

I have specially emphasized the subject of security because it is a matter on which we feel most strongly. For more than five years our soldiers, sailors, and airmen have been fighting against aggressors in almost every theater of the world war. During part of that time we had no one to depend on except our own kith and kin in other British countries, and the strength of our own arms. Part of our external territory was invaded and our whole national life disrupted.

There are other countries in the same case, countries which in two world wars have fought to the full extent of their resources and borne the brunt of the fighting for the

It has fallen upon the representative of a small nation possessing a deep historic tradition to reaffirm the criterion that the greatest power involves always the greatest responsibility. The exercise of such power constitutes for a mind and for conscientious peoples a series of difficult obligations and duties, rather than a privilege.

The sacrifices of this war which is now coming cannot be fruitless; if, in order to prosecute it and lead it to victory, it has been necessary to have the generous contribution of all the free countries, the maintenance of peace requires of the powerful and the weak nations their maximum effort and zeal in order to prevent history from continuing in the path that it has followed so far--a series of lost opportunities.

Peace has always been a weak and transitory attempt; it now devolves upon the great powers to attain this purpose in a lasting form. In order not to betray the confidence of the world, it is perhaps desirable to restate an American concept: "One cannot be powerful and immune from punishment."

MR. STETTINIUS: Ladies and Gentlemen, I now have the pleasure of recognizing Señor Vellose, the Minister of State for Foreign Relations of Brazil. Señor Vellose.

MR. VELLOSO: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I speak in English so that my distinguished American friends here present and the people of the United States may understand me at first hand.

In the name of the Brazilian Delegation, I wish to say a few words on the death of President Roosevelt.

The Brazilian people has lost a devoted friend with the passing away of the "greatest champion of freedom", as he was fittingly called by Winston Churchill. On the news of that sad event, throughout the vast extent of Brazil, the people, profoundly moved, showed that they well realized the tremendous loss which they together with the entire world had suffered.

The years of President Roosevelt's life at the White House were years of closest cooperation between Brazil and of the United States. Fortunately, we were not deaf to the repeated warnings which, on the one hand, he gave us on the evils which confronted the world. When the hour struck, without counting sacrifices or seeking any reward but the friendship of the American people, Brazil responded to his call for the defense of the Americas and of the civilized world.

No one better than President Roosevelt knew the cost to Brazil of the wholehearted contribution to the security of the American continent, the liberation of Europe, and the final victory of democratic ideals. No one more than he, who knew Brazil, its people, and its ideals, could better value the sincerity and the extent of our share in the war effort. In turn, both on the part of the government and of the people it became a debt of honor to correspond to his idealism, in which we have had always the most absolute faith.

On the death of such a great friend, my country feels a certain consolation in the thought that it understood his aims and that it not spare any effort, within the scope of its possibilities to help bring about his high designs. We shall always remember President Roosevelt as the man who through his generous deeds so greatly contributed to make the world believe again that goodness and idealism

You know that there are millions of people in the Soviet Union who know how to defend to the last with arms in hand their Motherland. At the same time, it is especially in our country of the Soviet that the people are devoted with all their hearts to the cause of the establishment of a durable general peace and are willing to support with all their forces the efforts of other nations to create a reliable organization of peace and security.

I wish you to know that the Soviet Union can be relied upon in the matter of safeguarding the peace and security of nations. Our peaceful people, the Soviet Government, the Red Army, and our great Marshal Stalin are inflexibly supporting this great cause. It is the most important task of the Delegation of the Soviet Government to express the sentiments and thoughts of the Soviet people.

I conclude my speech by expressing the heartfelt wishes for our joint success in the work of the Conference.

(Translation of Mr. Molotov's speech into French.)

MR. STETTINIUS: My friend, may I interrupt just one moment to say that after Mr. Molotov's speech is translated into French, Mr. Anthony Eden will speak.

I beg your pardon.

(Translation of Mr. Molotov's speech into French.)

MR. STETTINIUS: Ladies and Gentlemen, the Chair now recognizes the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Chairman of the Delegation of the United Kingdom, Mr. Anthony Eden.

MR. EDEN: Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: No more suitable setting could have been found anywhere for this assembly than the splendid city of San Francisco, one of the main centers of the United Nations war effort--San Francisco, whose confidence in the future is only equalled by its sense of comradeship today. Our deep gratitude, Sir, is due to the city itself and to the whole State of California, which with traditional hospitality has opened its gates to us, and also to the Government and the people of the United States who in a wider sense are our hosts at this momentous function. We thank you, Sir, and through you all those who have helped to organize this Conference, for the labor which they have given so generously in the common cause.

Sir, we are met here in the shadow of a grievous loss. No one can speak in this assembly without recalling Franklin Roosevelt, the friend of free people, the good neighbor. He looked forward to continuing in peace that close association of the free nations which has brought us to the very edge of victory and from which the meeting today has sprung. It was he who named them the United Nations and we shall best honor his memory by proving ourselves worthy of that proud title.

Sir, let us be clear about the purposes of this Conference. We are not here to draft the terms of a treaty of peace. We are met to agree to set up a world organization which will help to keep the peace when the victory is finally won as it will be over both Germany and Japan.

There have been moments in history when mankind has tried by the creation of some international machinery to solve disputes between nations by agreements and not by force. Hitherto, Sir, all these endeavors have failed. Yet no one here doubts that despite these earlier failures a further attempt must be made and this time we must succeed.

All the causes, and there were many, which made some form of international machinery desirable after the last war make it indispensable today. In the last hundred years, and especially in the last twenty-five years, the discoveries of science have served to enrich and sometimes to endanger the world but above all to contract it. We have entered an age, and we would do well to remember it, when no national barrier, whether mountain or ocean, can guarantee security against the new weapons which science has placed at the disposal of mankind.

This hard fact is now biting deeply into the consciousness of all peoples, and they are, as I believe, ready to accept its

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implications and to shoulder the responsibilities which it imposes. Therein, Ladies and Gentlemen, lies the main difference between today and the lost opportunities at the end of the last world war. Today this fact is patent to all. No one will dispute it.

Whether we will or not, we are all now one another's neighbors. San Francisco is as close to Berlin or to Tokyo now as New York was to Washington a hundred years ago. The world of today is one large city, and our countries are its several parishes. We are the citizens. Either together we must find some means of ordering our relations with justice and fair-dealing, while allowing nations great and small full opportunity to develop their free and independent life--either we must do that--or we shall soon head for another world conflict which this time must bring utter destruction of civilization in its trail.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is no exaggeration to say that the work which we are starting on here in this meeting may be the world's last chance. That is why the Governments of the four countries who sponsored the invitation to this Conference asked their representatives to meet together and to work out proposals which might later form the basis of an international agreement. They did so at Dumbarton Oaks. Their work was examined and was completed in the Crimea. The final outcome is now before you, and now, Sir, there are one or two brief observations about these proposals which I would make.

In the first place, these proposals admittedly constitute a compromise. In the second place, they do not constitute an attempt by the four powers to dictate to the rest of the world what form the future world organization should take. They are suggestion which we present to you--which unitedly we present to you--for your consideration. Nor, Sir, are they intended to stand unchanged until the end of time. For our part, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are prepared to accept and endorse them, to do their best to give them life because we believe that they can form a basis for a future world organization which will help to provide us with that security which is today mankind's greatest need. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, security is not itself a final end. It is indispensable if we are to make true freedom possible; not otherwise can we hope to realize a world in which justice for nations as well as for individuals can prevail.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, this security cannot be created in a day nor by any documents, however admirable. It must be the product of time and of constant effort, of learning to work together of practicing and upholding accepted standards of international conduct.

The important thing is to begin now. Now here, Sir, let me sound a note of warning and make a suggestion. Let me say how